764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is
supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
[787] cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
[551] names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
[648] culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[551] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
[821] winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-286)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [825] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša [439] by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were con- [262] sidered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in [773] which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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[562]
[783]

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

The

764 178 768 775 [783] [824] 765 178 [302] [551]

funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

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The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, [775] the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the [753] disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through [754] sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. [756] The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision [787] that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14). 755 178

764
768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [178] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
[778] witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This [illegible] has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts [illegible] the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] [752] [783] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piogs) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (mota) eaten	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kua) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
348. Cricket (niju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
35la. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (matata'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 373]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
DRESS AND ADORNMENT														
1322. Necklaces (tŏrakiapŏ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botŏ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidoma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1328. Animal claws	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1330. Wildcat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1331. Animal teeth	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1332. Deerclaws (tahaoapo or tomitsŏ)	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
1333. Charred pine seeds	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1336a. Cane tubes	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	–	–	–	–
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Yucca	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339. Animal fur	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339a. Weasel	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+
1340. Beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1341. Reeds	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342. Bones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342a. Quills	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1351. Hair	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1358. Charcoal	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1359. Soot (atsetaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wina)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1363. Yellow mineral (ouŏpi)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (paitsŏtaigan)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+

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N 796 262 Next I went to the creek alone and took a bath. After the ceremony my mother and father and I ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick." The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat his own game until after a special ceremony which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5 deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage and then sucked the boy's joints." He was supposed never to get tired after that. AE: Game killed by youth was taboo until after a shooting ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at. As soon as he hit the target, but not before, was the taboo lifted.

A [796 262] 373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: - (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [783] 396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: - (LP).

N 796 782 401. To: - (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd: Had offering ceremonies similar to this one described by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the last morning of the big 5-day spring round dance. Just before dawn a half circle was formed at the west side of the dance place by basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each cup contained but one type of food, such as seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts, and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head man took each cup separately, danced around the circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all directions, and prayed for a good season for all things. AE: See note 25 AE.

A [783]

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

N 262 439 410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade or expedition from California, not important in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + insisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

N 415 H 262 412. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians, or maybe God, made them."

434. The use of cactus was denied only in

[p.427(B)]

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APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[50] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[51] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[52] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[50] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[51] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[52] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Comanche | | |

Element	Tse	Pat	Gio	Ho	Wes	Ow	Ot	Ess	Pet	Pai	Ess	Wa	Ow	Ka	Ess	Ow	Ka	Wa	Ot	Ka
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
122. Women sit behind men		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
123. All pass to south of moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
139. Peyote passed round circle		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
148. Paraphernalia incensed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
149. 4 times		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Worshippers incensed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

NW [533]

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 88. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

91. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

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95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).